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“SPEECH OF HOPE” 60 YEARS AGO SET STAGE FOR MARSHALL PLAN

In historic address, U.S. backed unified Germany, promised long-term troops

By Vince Crawley
Washington File Staff Writer

Washington -- September 6 marks the 60th anniversary of a landmark speech by an American diplomat in Stuttgart, Germany, which set the course for U.S. relations with Europe, laying the groundwork for the Marshall Plan and promising that the United States would remain engaged in the world instead of retreating to isolationism.

The half-hour remarks by James F. Byrne, secretary of state under President Harry S. Truman, have become known in Germany as the “Speech of Hope,” but also foreshadowed growing tensions that would lead to the Cold War.

Byrne’s words, broadcast live over radio with a simultaneous German translation, promised that Germany would be rebuilt and would not be divided economically and that Germans would be allowed to govern themselves democratically. Byrnes also said U.S. troops would remain in Germany “as long as there is an occupation army in Germany,” a reference to the large number of Soviet troops in the Soviet zone of occupation that, three years later, would become communist East Germany.

"We have learned, whether we like it or not, that we live in one world, from which world we cannot isolate ourselves," Byrnes said September 6, 1946, at the Staatstheater in Stuttgart.

"It is the view of the American government that the German people throughout Germany, under proper safeguards, should now be given the primary responsibility for the running of their own affairs," Byrnes said.

The time and place of the speech were significant. Byrnes spoke almost a year to the day after Japan surrendered to the United States, ending World War II. But the U.S. role in the postwar world still was unclear. In Europe, American occupation troops suffered from low morale, while the Soviet Union -- a vital World War II ally -- maintained large numbers of combat forces and increasingly blocked attempts to restore democracy to Germany and Eastern Europe. Officials within the U.S. government were deeply divided over U.S. policy in Europe. The U.S. Congress was concerned about the high costs of maintaining a large overseas military presence. Many experts in and out of government sought to break Germany into pieces and dismantle its industries so that the country never again would pose a military threat. Some also favored splitting the Ruhr Area -- Germany's coal, steel and industrial center -- into a separate, internationally administered zone.

"We favor the economic unification of Germany," Byrnes said in his speech. "If complete unification cannot be secured, we shall do everything in our power to secure the maximum possible unification."

The speech was formally titled "Restatement of Policy on Germany." Many of its points were outlined in a secret July 19, 1946, cable sent to Washington by U.S. General Lucius D. Clay, the U.S. military administrator of Germany. Clay strongly recommended the economic reconstruction of Germany. After he persuaded Byrnes to make the speech, he assembled U.S. military personnel, journalists and leading German officials for the Friday evening address in Stuttgart. At the time, official Pentagon policy still called for harsh economic measures against Germany, a view echoed by many of Byrnes's State Department subordinates. So the Stuttgart speech was viewed as the forceful statement of a new U.S. foreign policy.

"It is not in the interest of the German people or in the interest of world peace that Germany should become a pawn or a partner in a military struggle for power between the East and the West," Byrnes said. Germany's democracy could be overseen by a relatively small force with limited combat capabilities, he said. "For enforcement [of peace terms] we could rely more upon a force of trained inspectors and less upon infantry."

However, he added: "Security forces will probably have to remain in Germany for a long period. I want no misunderstanding. We will not shirk our duty. We are not withdrawing. We are staying here. As long as there is an occupation army in Germany, the American armed forces will be part of that occupation army."

In its edition of September 16, 1946, Time magazine, the U.S. news weekly, wrote that "Europe and Asia recognized [the Stuttgart speech] as America's boldest move yet towards leadership of the world."

Clay recalled in an interview years later: "Mr. Byrnes's speech was aimed at the Germans. It was an attempt to give them some hope. It was also aimed at Western Europe, to give them some assurance." After the speech, Clay recalled, Byrnes departed Stuttgart by train. When he made an unscheduled stop at another German city, he quickly was surrounded by hundreds of Germans asking for his autograph.

Less than two weeks later, on September 19, 1946, in Zurich, Switzerland, British statesman Winston Churchill spoke of "the re-creation of European family" with a "spiritually great Germany" working in partnership with other European nations.

Byrnes resigned as secretary of state in January 1947. Nine months after Byrnes's Stuttgart speech, the new secretary of state, George Marshall, was the featured speaker at Harvard University's commencement on June 5, 1947. He described a new European Recovery Program in which U.S. investments would help rebuild Europe. The program, known as the Marshall Plan, played a significant role in rebuilding European economies. In return for financial investments, the Mar-

shall Plan required close economic cooperation between European nations, helping lay the groundwork for the European Union.

The U.S. Embassy in Germany maintains a Web page (<http://usa.usembassy.de/garelations4555.htm>) with extensive links on postwar U.S.-German relations, including the text of the Byrnes "Speech of Hope" in English and German.

UNITED STATES COMMITTED TO DIPLOMACY IN IRAN NUCLEAR DISPUTE

Iran must meet U.N. Security Council conditions, State Department says

By Lea Terhune
Washington File Staff Writer

Washington -- U.S. State Department spokesman Sean McCormack predicts intensive diplomacy over the coming weeks as Iran's position on uranium enrichment is addressed.

"We are committed to diplomacy ourselves, but we're not going to negotiate ... about negotiations," he said. He said the conditions set in U.N. Security Council Resolution 1696 are very clear. The July 31 resolution asked Iran to suspend all enrichment-related activities in its nuclear program, including research and development, and to allow the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to inspect its nuclear facilities. "If the regime in Tehran meets those conditions, which are quite clear, straightforward, then there can be negotiations," McCormack told journalists September 5.

The five permanent members of the Security Council -- China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States -- plus Germany offered a package of incentives to Iran if it accepted the conditions, and threatened economic sanctions if it did not. Iran declined to agree by the August 31 deadline.

McCormack said he expected "tough, intensive diplomacy" in the coming weeks over the contents of a sanctions resolution. U.S. Under Secretary for Political Affairs R. Nicholas Burns begins consultations September 6 to discuss these measures with U.S. counterparts.

"There's been a fundamental breakdown in trust between Iran and the international community with respect to the Iranian nuclear program," McCormack said.

He expressed concern that Iran would become more isolated by refusing to engage with the international community along the lines set out by the U.N. Security Council, "which is something we do not desire."

"It's a great culture, it's a great people, and it would be a shame to see this regime further isolate the Iranian people from the rest of the world."

Regarding former Iranian President Khatami's private visit to the United States, McCormack said that although Khatami was not here at the invitation of the United States government, he hopes that Khatami will carry back the message to Iran that "the American people don't wish to be isolated from the Iranian people."

McCormack said the United States has a number of programs "to try to encourage information flow to the Iranian people," noting that it is difficult for the Iranian people to get a complete view of world events and opinion. The U.S. is working on educational exchange programs, and he added, "[W]e're trying to do a better job in terms of understanding what is going on inside Iran."

BUSH VOWS VICTORY AGAINST TERRORISTS

War on terrorism a battle of arms and ideas, says new White House report

Washington – As the fifth anniversary of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, approaches, a new White House report calls the global war on terrorism “a battle of arms and ideas,” and sets out a strategy to promote freedom and human dignity as alternatives to the terrorists’ vision of oppression and totalitarian rule.

The National Strategy to Combat Terrorism, released September 5, finds that even though international efforts have succeeded in significantly degrading the al-Qaida network, today’s terrorist threat is less centralized – a complex mix of extremist organizations, networks and individuals. Supported in many cases by state and nonstate entities, these groups are united in their continued commitment to destroy innocent lives through both violent attacks and the use of propaganda based on a “violent and intolerant distortion of Islam” to deceive individuals into joining their ranks, the report states.

In remarks at the Military Officers Association of America in Washington September 5, President Bush called attention to the report, and said it has been updated since it was first released in February 2003 to “take into account the changing nature of this enemy.”

Bush’s comments came as part of the second in a series of five scheduled speeches concerning the global war on terrorism.

“Five years after our nation was attacked, the terrorist danger remains. We’re a nation at war – and America and her allies are fighting this war with relentless determination across the world. Together with our coalition partners, we’ve removed terrorist sanctuaries, disrupted their finances, killed and captured key operatives, broken up terrorist cells in America and other nations, and stopped new attacks before they’re carried out,” Bush said.

“We’re on the offense against the terrorists on every battlefield,” he added, “and we’ll accept nothing less than complete victory.”

TERRORISTS DISTORT ISLAM, TARGET MUSLIMS

The president added that much has been learned about terrorist groups like al-Qaida since the September 11, 2001, attacks on New York and Washington.

“We’ve learned that they’re cunning and sophisticated. We’ve witnessed their ability to change their methods and their tactics with deadly speed, even as their murderous obsessions remain unchanging. We’ve seen that it’s the terrorists who have declared war on Muslims, slaughtering huge numbers of innocent Muslim men and women around the world,” he said.

“This enemy movement seeks to create and exploit a division between the Muslim and non-Muslim world and within the Muslim world itself,” the report states. “The terrorists distort the idea of jihad into a call for violence and murder against those they regard as apostates or unbelievers, including all those who disagree with them.” (See related article.)

Despite the successes of ongoing international coordination in military, intelligence and law enforcement operations aimed at breaking up terror plots, terrorists’ continuing desire to inflict catastrophic damage on the United States and its allies also raises another international security threat – the prospect of terrorists acquiring chemical, biological or nuclear weapons for use in future attacks, according to the report.

The president said his administration has decided to take the threat of terrorism seriously, and “will not rest until this threat to civilization is removed.”

“We know what the terrorists believe, we know what they have done and we know what they intend to do,” Bush said, adding that free nations around the world “must summon the will to meet this great challenge.”

Bush said terrorist leaders like Osama bin Laden have made their intentions “as clear as [Vladimir] Lenin and [Adolph] Hitler before them,” and said, “The question is will we listen? Will we pay attention to what these evil men say?”

ADVANCING DEMOCRACY WILL DEFEAT TERRORISM

The new national strategy builds on the president’s National Security Strategy, released earlier in 2006, presenting an approach that combines both short- and long-term counterterrorism strategies.

In the immediate term, the strategy advocates continued focus on four key areas:

- Preventing future attacks by neutralizing cell leaders and operatives, freezing the flow of funding and weapons, and targeting terrorists’ communications and propaganda efforts;
- Denying weapons of mass destruction to rogue states and terrorists’ allies that intend to use them;
- Denying terrorists the support and sanctuary of rogue regimes; and
- Denying terrorists control of any nation that they could use as a base and a launching pad for terror.

Achieving these short-term strategic objectives, the strategy states, will buy the necessary time and space for the international community to focus on the long-term solution for winning the War on Terror: winning the “war of ideas” by advancing effective democracies to address underlying societal conditions that terrorists seek to exploit.

The new report also states that:

- Terrorists exploit political alienation, but democracy gives people an ownership stake in society;
- Terrorists exploit grievances, but democracy offers the rule of law, the peaceful resolution of disputes and the habits of advancing interests through compromise;
- Terrorists exploit misinformation and conspiracy theories, but democracy offers freedom of speech, independent media and a marketplace of ideas to expose and discredit falsehoods; and
- Terrorists exploit an ideology that justifies murder, but democracy offers a respect for human dignity and rejects the targeting of innocents.

“Effective democracies honor and uphold basic human rights, including freedom of religion, conscience, speech, assembly, association, and press. They are the long-term antidote to the ideology of terrorism today,” the report states.

“There will continue to be challenges ahead,” the report concludes, “but along with our partners, we will attack terrorism and its ideology, and bring hope and freedom to the people of the world. This is how we will win the War on Terror.”

A transcript of Bush’s speech, a fact sheet and the full text of the National Strategy to Combat Terrorism are available on the White House Web site (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/09/20060905-4.html>).

FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES AFTER 9/11 FOCUS OF WEBCHAT

Hudson Institute president to discuss challenges five years after 9/11 attacks

Washington -- Foreign policy challenges five years after the attacks of September 11, 2001, are the subject of a USINFO Webchat.

Join Herbert London (http://usinfo.state.gov/usinfo/USINFO/Products/Webchats/london_12_sept_2006.html) a contributing author to the State Department's latest eJournal USA, Rebuilding and Resilience Five Years After 9/11, for an online discussion September 12 from 9:30 a.m. (1330 GMT) coinciding with the fifth anniversary of the 9/11 attacks.

London is president of Hudson Institute, a non-partisan policy research organization based in New York City dedicated to research and analysis that promotes global security, prosperity, and freedom. He is the former John M. Olin University professor of humanities at New York University where he founded the Gallatin School in 1972 and was its dean until 1992. His social commentary has appeared in major newspapers and journals throughout the United States. London's article, "Remembering 9/11 (<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0806/ijpe/london.htm>)," is available in the State Department electronic journal, Rebuilding and Resilience: Five Years After 9/11 (<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0806/ijpe/ijpe0806.htm>)

If you would like to participate in this webchat, please sign up on the USINFO Webchat registration page (<http://usinfo.state.gov/utls/chatemailreg.php>). Please tell us your preferred screen name; use of full names is not required.

If you have participated in one of our previous webchats, use the same user name and password. You may submit questions in advance to usinfowebchat@state.gov (<mailto:usinfowebchat@state.gov>) or directly during the webchat.

We accept questions and comments in advance of and at any time during the program. You may also e-mail (<mailto:usinfowebchat@state.gov>) questions without registering.

The transcript of this webchat will be available on USINFO's Webchat Station (<http://usinfo.state.gov/usinfo/Products/Webchats.html>), where information about upcoming webchats also is available.

For additional information, see and Response to Terrorism (http://usinfo.state.gov/is/international_security/terrorism.html).

Plases Note: Most texts and transcript mentioned in the U.S. Mission Daily Bulletin are available via our homepage: <http://geneva.usmission.gov/>

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